

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02044 161730Z

53

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 083941

O R 161656Z APR 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5196

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T USNATO 2044

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS IN NATO ON MBFR

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) USNATO 1863; B) VIENNA 3246

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES MISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR REACHING ALLIED CONSENSUS ON NEXT STEPS IN MBFR. BASIC
APPROACH WE SUGGEST IS:

1. GIVE FIRST PRIORITY TO ACHIEVING EARLY ALLIED AGREEMENT
TO THE THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS (FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES,
NON-INCREASE AGREEMENT; SECOND-PHASE ASSURANCES) INVOLVED IN
GIVING ASSURANCES TO SOVIETS THAT NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES WILL BE
INCLUDED IN MBFR PROCESS;
2. ACCOMPLISH THIS THROUGH WORK ALREADY UNDERWAY WITHIN ALLIANCE
IN NATO, BUILDING ON SUBSTANTIAL CONSENSUS WHICH HAS ALREADY
DEVELOPED ON FIRST TWO ELEMENTS;
3. TURN LATER IN NATO TO NUCLEAR ISSUE, AND PLAN TO
PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON THAT SUBJECT TO AD HOC GROUP ONLY AFTER
RPT AFTER ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE MADE STRONG EFFORT, ON BASIS
OF ASSURANCES ON NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES, TO GAIN SOVIET
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02044 161730Z

ACCEPTANCE OF PHASING AND COMMON-CEILING CONCEPT;

4. CONTINUE TO AVOID US-SOVIET BILATERAL DEALS ON MBFR.

ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON CHECKLIST ON LINKAGE (REF A)
IN TIME FOR SPC MEETING MONDAY, APRIL 22. END SUMMARY.

1. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THAT BEFORE ACCEDING TO ANY WESTERN DEMANDS, THE SOVIETS WILL ASK FOR ASSURANCES THAT EUROPEAN ALLIED FORCES WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE MBFR PROCESS. IF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS IN NEXT ROUND OF MBFR TALKS CAN OFFER TO THE SOVIETS NO FURTHER ASSURANCES ON PROSPECTIVE FORCES CUTS BY OTHER ALLIES, THE NEGOTIATIONS MAY, INDEED, REACH A STALEMATE. THE MISSION SUGGESTS, THEREFORE, THAT WE GIVE FIRST PRIORITY IN NATO TO DEVELOPING TIMELY GUIDANCE FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE AD HOC GROUP ON SUCH ASSURANCES.

2. MISSION IS AWARE THAT IN MAKING ANY DECISION TO MOVE PROMPTLY IN THIS OR OTHER DIRECTIONS, WASHINGTON WILL WEIGH SUCH A COURSE AGAINST THE BROADER SPECTRUM OF OVERALL US-SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT TWO, AND ALSO US RELATIONS WITH ITS WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER, PRESENT US RELATIONS WITH ITS NATO ALLIES ARGUE FOR DELIBERATE APPROACH TO THE NEXT STAGE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. THIS SHOULD BE BALANCED, HOWEVER, BY THE CONSIDERATION THAT THE LONGER THE ALLIES DELAY IN REACHING A CONSENSUS ON NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES, THE MORE DIFFICULT IT MAY BECOME TO REACH SUCH A CONSENSUS. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT AS SOVIET PRESSURES GROW, AND OUR ALLIES PONDER THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THEIR OWN FUTURE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS, THEY ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CAUTIOUS TOWARDS MBFR.

3. MISSION BELIEVES THAT AT PRESENT THERE ARE GOOD PROSPECTS FOR REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES ON ASSURANCES WITH RESPECT TO NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES, WITHOUT THE US HAVING TO EXERT STRONG PRESSURE OR EVEN ASSUMING A HIGHLY ACTIVE ROLE. OUR APPROACH IN ALLIANCE IN NATO ON THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN TO TAKE A LOW POSTURE, LEAVING IT TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO MAKE KNOWN THEIR VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02044 161730Z

4. THEY HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO DO SO AND, LARGELY ON THE BASIS OF PROPOSALS BY THE UK, THE NETHERLANDS AND FRG, THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS BEEN ABLE TO DRAFT A "CHECKLIST" ON ISSUES RELATED TO THE LINK BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS." THIS CHECKLIST ENCOMPASSES THE THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS RELATED TO ASSURANCES ON NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES: THE FIXING OF THE PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES, NON-INCREASE OF FORCES AGREEMENT, AND ASSURANCES TO OTHER SIDE REGARDING SECOND PHASE. (WE NOTE THAT THESE ALSO ENCOMPASS THE QUESTION ON WHICH USDEL MBFR HAS REQUESTED INSTRUCTIONS BY MAY 10 (PARA 38, REF B).)

5. WE SUGGEST, THEREFORE, THAT THE US CONTINUE TO WORK IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS ON-GOING ALLIANCE STUDY. SINCE THEY HAVE

ALREADY PROVIDED SOME OF THEIR OWN THINKING, THE ALLIES ARE NOW AWAITING US VIEWS ON THE QUESTIONS IN THIS CHECKLIST. IF WE RECEIVE US ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS IN TIME FOR THE APRIL 22 SPC MEETING, THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF CAN PROMPTLY DRAFT GUIDANCE FROM ALLIANCE NATIONS TO THE AD HOC GROUP. SPC CAN THEN WORK INTENSIVELY ON THIS DRAFT GUIDANCE, IN ORDER TO PRESENT IT TO THE COUNCIL IN EARLY MAY.

6. A STATUS REPORT ON THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THIS CHECKLIST FOLLOWS:

A. FIXED PERIOD OF TIME -- THE MBFR WORKING GROUP HAS PREPARED A MILITARY-TECHNICAL STUDY OF TIME REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT AND VERIFY WITHDRAWALS, WHICH WASHINGTON IS EXAMINING. WE WILL NEED GUIDANCE ON THIS REPORT IN TIME FOR APRIL 18 MBFR WORKING GROUP MEETING. THE PRINCIPAL REQUIREMENT, HOWEVER, IS FOR THE ALLIES TO SPECIFY THEIR PREFERRED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES. SINCE IT WILL BE US FORCES WHICH WOULD BE WITHDRAWN UNDER AN MBFR-Q AGREEMENT, THE ALLIES WOULD FIND IT ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR THE US TO PROPOSE A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME. MISSION WOULD THEREFORE PARTICULARLY APPRECIATE WASHINGTON'S RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION IN CHECKLIST, "WHAT SHOULD THE LENGTH OF THE 'FIXED PERIOD OF TIME', BE?"

B. NON-INCREASE OF FORCES AGREEMENT-- UK AND FRG HAVE ALREADY PROVIDED ANSWERS TO MOST OF THE QUESTIONS IN THIS PART OF THE CHECKLIST. UK AND FRG POSITIONS ARE VERY CLOSE (SEE USNATO 1793 AND 1931) AND LONDON IS EVEN HOPING FOR ALLIED
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 02044 161730Z

AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE WITHIN A WEEK (USNATO 1938). MISSION THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT INsofar AS POSSIBLE, US SIMPLY GO ALONG WITH UK/FRG POSITION ON A NON-INCREASE OF GROUND FORCES AGREEMENT.

C. ASSURANCES TO OTHER SIDE REGARDING SECOND PHASE --

ALLIED WORK ON THIS ELEMENT IS LESS WELL DEVELOPED, AND THE ALLIES MAY HAVE GREATER DIFFICULTY IN REACHING CONSENSUS ON IT BY EARLY MAY. PROSPECTS FOR DOING SO, HOWEVER, WILL BE GREATLY IMPROVED IF THE US CAN PROVIDE ANSWERS TO THE CHECKLIST QUESTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT AS WELL BY APRIL 22.

7. WITH GUIDANCE FROM THE COUNCIL ON ASSURANCES ON NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES, THE AD HOC GROUP WILL HAVE A FUND OF NEW MATERIAL

UPON WHICH TO DRAW IN ATTEMPTING TO GET SOVIET AGREEMENT TO A TWO-PHASES APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS AND TO THE COMMON-CEILING CONCEPT. IT MAY BE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT AGREE TO THESE OBJECTIVES, PARTICULARLY THE LATTER, UNTIL THE ALLIES INTRODUCE THE NUCLEAR FACTOR. NONETHELESS, SUCH AN EXPLORATION ON THE BASIS OF ASSURANCES ON EUROPEAN ALLIED FORCES WOULD MAKE SOVIET REQUIREMENTS

CLEARER. IN THE MEANTIME, THE COUNCIL COULD CONSIDER THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT, AFTER IT HAS COMPLETED GUIDANCE ON NON-US NATO NATIONS FORCES.

8. FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO COUNSEL STRONGLY AGAINST USDEL MBFR'S REPEATED RECOMMENDATIONS IN REF B FOR RAISING A WIDE RANGE OF POSSIBLE WESTERN CONCESSIONS, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING OTHER ALLIED FORCES, BILATERALLY WITH THE SOVIETS. SUCH A PRO-CEDURE WOULD POSE A GRAVE THREAT TO THAT WESTERN COHESION AND SOLIDARITY WHICH HAVE AND ARE NOW SERVING OUR MBFR INTERESTS AND OUR BROADER ALLIANCE INTERESTS SO WELL.
RUMSFELD

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 JUN 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 APR 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ATO02044
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740482/abbryujd.tel
Line Count: 176
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: A) USNATO 1863; B) VIENNA 3246
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <07 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEXT STEPS IN NATO ON MBFR
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005